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1. The present picture in Poland is quite different from that of 1939 to 1945, when there was evidence on every side of seething emotions, when sabotage and armed resistance were commonplace and the hostility of the people toward the invaders was obvious. Now the boiling cauldron has cooled off. People seem to have settled down and obey the authorities in quiet resignation. Partisan activities, so lively even in 1945 and 1946, belong to the past. The remnants of armed underground units, stemming from the national-democratic NZW (National Fighting Union) or from IIN (Freedom and Independence), which still operate in certain parts of the country, are rather exceptions to the rule and their activities leave no imprints on the life of the population.
2. The parties of legal political opposition had been broken down by persecutions and completely silenced. Spontaneous anti-Government demonstrations, illegal commemoration of the National Day on May 3, scout and student riots, attempted strikes and acts of sabotage have on the whole ceased. Even the starvation wages and Soviet-style production races no longer provoke loud protests. The Poles accept the foreign-inspired, alien, revolutionary changes with outward calm and without obvious signs of disapproval. The frequently organized parades, rallies and celebrations, typical of a totalitarian state, are attended by large crowds carrying Communist banners and placards. Shop windows are decorated with national and red flags; portraits of Government officials are eminently displayed; meeting halls are crowded with duly applauding listeners. All this, however, is a superficial picture which fails to express the real mood and attitude of the people.

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- 2 -

3. The Polish nation, in its innermost, is not only opposed to the Government but despises and hates the Communist rulers. The nation fully understands that the Government was imposed by foreign powers and that it does not serve the interests of Poland but is an agency of the Kremlin, blindly submissive to Soviet orders and serving the cause of international Communism.
4. The deception of social reforms has ceased to work. Men toiling on starvation wages in nationalized factories, unable to change their place of employment, chained by iron Communist discipline, cannot see any improvement. Beneficiaries of the land reform are learning that it is now leading to collectivization and to the loss of their individual property. It became apparent to the population in general that the impoverishment is not only the result of war but also of the present system of government.
5. There are also determined followers of the Government in Poland. Numerically they do not exceed three to five percent of the entire population. They may be divided into two groups:
  - (a) Convinced Communists constitute the first group. Their number is insignificant. Many World War II Communists, especially those who, in 1939, personally experienced the blessings of the Soviet system, became disillusioned. But those who remained loyal, and others recruited in the recent years, represent among the Poles a dynamic and extremely active factor. They occupy key positions in the administration and thus constitute the backbone of the regime. Through their mobility, ruthlessness and energy, they overcome their numerical weakness.
  - (b) The second group are the opportunists whose loyalty to the Government is based not on conviction but on various material reasons and who went so far in their servility that they can no longer extricate themselves. Having secured a comfortable position, they rarely seek a way out but serve the Government to the best of their ability and consider any changes in the prevailing situation highly dangerous. About ten percent of the Poles are members of various political parties of which the one and one half-million-strong United Polish Workers Party is the official Government organization, while others, with the exception of the Communist-dominated Peasant Party, exist in name only. The Party membership is composed of administration officials and employees of various State-owned enterprises, who joined the parties under threat of losing their jobs. Before the Socialist-Communist merger in December 1948, there were radical left-wing elements in the Socialist Party who, although opposed to the Soviet domination of Poland, agreed with the Government's social-economic program. They believed that, by realizing far-reaching social reforms, Poland will be able to exist within the Soviet orbit as an independent state. Some of these radicals were strongly anti-Soviet; others advocated a close co-operation with the Soviet Union, hoping that Moscow will permit Poland to develop her own socialist system, different from the Soviet pattern and better suited to Polish psychology. Edward Osubka-Morawski, Stanislaw Szwalbe, Zygmunt Rusinek, Dr Drobner, Wachowiak, Piaskowski and others, all of whom occupied important Government positions, represented this school of thought. All of them have by now lost their positions and influence. Their cases and that of Vice-Premier Wladyslaw Gomulka, an out-and-out pro-Soviet Communist who was purged because he differed with the Soviets regarding some aspects of their policy in Poland, proved beyond doubt that Moscow does not tolerate any divergent views.

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- 3 -

6. The Polish people are now, as never before, imbued with a spirit of national solidarity. Doctrines and slogans advocating class warfare and hatred have lost their attraction. It is believed that each individual, each class and social stratum have many useful functions to perform for the benefit of the nation as a whole. The people are for a system of government, for a social and political order in which the State or any organized authority would leave enough room for the rights of the individual, would guarantee personal security, and would respect human dignity. The Poles reject human laws, ideas and conceptions which are not restricted by moral bonds, emanating from Christian ethics. Amidst the chaos, confusion and hardship resulting from the present ruthless and discriminatory laws, the Poles look toward Christian morality as the only criterion distinguishing between good and evil and as the basis of the relations between State and individual. Deprived of any part in shaping their external life of their community, the Poles ardently desire to become again sovereign in their own country and to establish a true parliamentary democracy. Traditional customs and institutions are preserved and cherished despite the Government's attempts to destroy them. The people's relations to the Church are guided by the knowledge that, through centuries, Poland's destiny was closely linked with the Catholic Church which now constitutes the last remaining spiritual, and even material, stronghold of the traditional Polish life. A general turn has taken place toward a national, Christian, non-class and anti-Marxist ideology. Thanks to this surge of patriotism, combined with an ancient Christian culture, the process of internal moral decay has not even touched the people of Poland in spite of the many blows and destruction of the traditional forms of life.
7. The progressing farm collectivization, the increasing political terror and, above all, the struggle against the Church and the individual priests has cemented the anti-Government and anti-Soviet attitude of the people. But there are no external signs of revolt, no clear-cut evidence of struggle and resistance to the oppressors. The Polish people are aware that physical resistance in the present conditions would mean only further losses and further sacrifices without even a hope of achieving tangible results. Therefore, the people have abandoned the defense of such positions which can only be held by physical force and have reluctantly accepted totalitarian controls of their external life. They have, however, decided to save from Communist encroachment something far more important than the material aspects of life -- their national soul. On this spiritual front the real battle is being waged today. The Government knows that victory would never be decisive with the spiritual sphere remaining beyond its control. From this conviction stem all Communist attempts to erase the influences of religion and of past history and tradition in the field of culture and education. Here the people resist splendidly; in thousands of Polish homes, after school hours, the parents patiently correct the distorted visions of history, literature, political, social and economic life presented to their children by Communist teachers and agitators. The Poles reject in the spiritual field everything which originates from the enemy posing as their Government. They lead their own lives in seclusion from hostile outside influences. Every home has become a spiritual fortress where the treasures, accumulated during ten centuries of Christian history, are being stored and cherished. And this trend is visible not only among the intelligentsia; broad masses of farmers, workers and small bourgeois constitute the backbone of this most effective resistance movement.

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